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chapter which is acute and trenchant, and of a light and witty style. The theoretical part of the work ends with an answer to the question, "What determines rights?" His view is that "the only law of nature to which we can listen must be such as will commend itself to our reason as the statement of the principles of a coherent and orderly society which will not throw away the hard-won achievements of man in his struggle with nature and with barbarism, and which will at the same time be progressive, in the sense of being capable of correcting its own faults. Any 'natural rights' which are incompatible with such a society are only another name for anarchy." Social utility is in fact the ultimate test of what is "right."

The specific "natural rights" which are considered in the second half of the book are the right of life, the right of liberty, with liberty of thought, toleration, the right of public meeting and association, freedom of contract, national freedom, etc., resistance to oppression, equality, the right of property and the right of pursuing and obtaining happiness. Though often treading upon controversial ground, Professor Ritchie throws out upon each of these questions suggestions which every reader will appreciate and value. The chapters on liberty and toleration are especially stimulating, the more so because they contain much to excite strenuous difference of opinion. (In passing, is not Kant's "universal law of right" as given on page 142 inferior to this passage from his "*Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*," I Th., I Buch, i. Hauptst., sect. 7. "So act that the maxims of thy will may at all times serve as the principle of a universal law?") Finally, there is added in an appendix the text of various Declarations of Rights, beginning with that of Virginia and ending with the preamble to the French Constitution of 1848.

Professor Ritchie's treatment of his subject is systematic and thoroughly scholarly, and though by no means final it will be heartily welcomed by all students of contemporary movements of political and ethical thought. A healthy independence of judgment and a marked freedom from irritating dogmatism are amongst the qualifications which entitle him to speak and to claim a thoughtful hearing, while his attractive style makes the perusal of the book a source of pleasure as well as of profit.

WILLIAM HARBUTT DAWSON.

L'Europe et la Révolution Française. Par ALBERT SOREL. Première partie, *Les mœurs politiques et les traditions*; Deuxième partie, *La Chute de la Royauté*; Troisième partie, *La Guerre aux rois, 1792-1793*; Quatrième partie, *Les limites naturelles, 1794-1795*. Pp. 562, 574, 556 and 492. Price, 8 fr. per vol. Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1885-1893.

The temptation to exaggerate the importance of picturesque but relatively trivial events is probably never greater than when studying the history of the French Revolution. Too exclusive attention has hitherto been given to the events taking place in Paris itself during the years 1789-1794. The fall of the Bastille, the October days, the September massacres and all the long list of lurid episodes with the prominent actors from Mirabeau and Danton to Hébert and Herman have assumed an importance quite at variance with their true import when viewed as part and parcel of the contemporaneous history of Europe. Great confusion has been produced and distinguished thinkers like De Tocqueville have been led astray by the failure to distinguish between two entirely different aspects of the revolutionary period. The term French Revolution may be, and very generally has been, used to designate the history of France, especially of Paris from 1789-1795. In many cases and for obvious reasons this conception tends to narrow itself to the reign of terror pure and simple, and the history of the French Revolution becomes in this way synonymous with the political career of Robespierre. In indulging ourselves, however, in this exciting bit of local history, let us never forget that it is local. It does little more to explain the great European movement which found its manifesto in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and in the Decree Abolishing the Feudal System than the waves upon the surface of the gulf stream, would lead us to suspect the mighty intercontinental current extending from Mexico to Norway. The farther we leave it behind the more certainly will the French Revolution be viewed in its broad relations as a general change, first and most fully accomplished in France which was inevitable in all the other States of Western Europe. As De Tocqueville has pointed out similar conditions existed throughout Western Europe in the eighteenth century. Similar reforms have made the nineteenth century what it is. Viewed in this light, the history of Europe and the French Revolution has a unity and a significance which might well tempt the best minds to undertake to trace the general currents of progress, and to eliminate or relegate to their proper place the merely picturesque and theatrical incidents which have hitherto dazzled the observer and prevented a true estimate of the period.

Although the outcome of very concrete abuses the principles of the French Revolution were expressed in an abstract form which rendered their propagation easy but at the same time caused them to produce very different results according to the conditions in which they took effect. Their application destroyed the original purity of the conceptions. The abstract is distasteful to the many. New ideas are instantly and unconsciously moulded by the sentiments, the prejudices

and errors which result from an imperfect education and the accumulated influences of family and race. States and peoples as well as individuals have their traditions which are all the more potent and imperious because unrealized. In unexpected crises mankind has no resource except their past and, whether they recognize this or not, they are subject to the controlling and inexorable influence of existing conditions and of the reigning passions within and around them. New ideas can only be received and realized in traditional ways, and the French as well as the other peoples of Europe interpreted these abstract principles in their own way, and adapted them to the traditions of their own past.

Realizing this profound truth M. Sorel has undertaken his really great work on Europe and the French Revolution. "I do not claim," he says, "to have succeeded in explaining these great historical phenomena, but I believe that my efforts have not been in vain if I can show that the French Revolution, which appeared to some the subversion, and to others the regeneration of the old European world, was but the natural and necessary outcome of the history of Europe, and demonstrate that this revolution did not produce any results, even the most singular, which do not flow from this history and are not explained by the precedents of the Ancien Régime." (I. 8.)

It would be difficult to find one better fitted for the task that he has undertaken than Professor Sorel. His previous studies in diplomatic history have given him wide experience in this intricate branch of history. He has already published several volumes in this field, for example the Diplomatic History of the Franco-German War, The Treaty of Paris of 1815, and the Eastern Question in the eighteenth century. In his present work Professor Sorel has but one distinguished predecessor, Heinrich v. Sybel. Sybel's treatise is, however, very different in spirit and in the mode of treating the subject. He embodies much careful research which takes the form of digressions on the Polish question, and upon a variety of diplomatic intricacies which are given a disproportionate place, and are treated in such detail as to have but little interest even for earnest readers. The author is moreover unsympathetic, treating the internal history of France in the traditional fashion, and relying, as was inevitable, upon the older authorities, especially upon the partisan presentation of Mortimer-Ternaux. Owing to these defects and the positive advantages of Sorel's treatment, there is no doubt that the latter will quickly replace the older work among the English reading public so soon as a translator and an enterprising publisher are found to give us an English version.

In marked contrast to the plan adopted by von Sybel, Sorel has devoted a whole volume to the condition of Europe in the eighteenth century, and this forms, perhaps, the most valuable and original portion of his work. For France itself, under the Ancien Régime, several good authorities exist in the writings of De Tocqueville, Taine, Babeau, Louis Blanc and others. No one has, however, tried to furnish upon so considerable a scale and in so systematic a manner an introduction to the history of Europe during the revolutionary period. The work opens with a discussion of the political habits of old Europe. The author shows that the closest similarity exists between the aims and methods of Europe before and after the outbreak of the great Revolutionary War. The policy of revolutionary France and of Napoleon is but patterned and upon that of the rulers of the eighteenth century. *La raison d'État* had always served to cover a multitude of sins. Partitions, dethronements, royal executions and faithless diplomacy were not invented by the revolutionary leaders. Ample illustrations establish the existence of a perfect continuity in these respects which, while it might have been suspected, is neglected for obvious reasons by partisan writers whether they are favorable or unfavorable to the revolution. An examination of the conditions before 1792 show that the relations of the European States were such that a successful coalition against revolution was impossible. Each feared the other and sought its own immediate advantage, preferably at the cost of a neighbor. All were unconscious of the common danger which threatened the existing system. Yet the consciousness of existing abuses and the spirit of innovation are salient features of the governmental policy of the European monarchies before 1789. Of the reform movements throughout Europe, Sorel gives a most interesting review, especially of that peculiar first effect of the ideas of the eighteenth century, the "Enlightened Despotism." Frederick the Great, Catherine II., Joseph II., and Louis XVI., all illustrate a common tendency. Reform, if not revolution, was imminent everywhere, although the thoroughgoing changes of 1789 in France have tended to throw the beginnings of similar movements elsewhere in the shade.

In order to estimate the varying effects of French thought upon the different States of Europe, the author, in Books II and III of his first volume, takes up in turn the government and political conditions of France, England, Holland, Spain, Italy, Germany, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, Poland and Turkey. This portion of the work is very suggestive, especially the excellent chapter on France. For example, an interesting parallel is drawn between the governmental system of the Ancien Régime and the rule of the Convention. We have the same strict centralization of power. The deputies on mission are but the

intendants revived. The legislation against the *émigrés* bears a striking resemblance to that directed earlier against the Protestants.

In the succeeding volumes the difficulties of arrangement grow less. There is greater unity when the conflict actually begins. The internal changes in France are most skillfully treated from the broad vantage ground of European history at large. The interdependence of the events within and without France, which Bignon long ago emphasized, is always kept prominently before the reader and determines the method of treatment.

M. Sorel originally planned to trace the history only to the close of the Convention, believing that the great lines of development had been fixed by that time. His fourth volume, describing the negotiations which led up to the treaties of Basle and the closing months of the Convention, completes the work as originally conceived. The author has, however, fortunately determined to add two volumes, one "Bonaparte 1796-1804" and the other "the Continental Blockade and the treaties of 1815," which will furnish a much needed general account of the Napoleonic period from a European standpoint. We have good accounts of the diplomatic relations in the works of Lefebvre, Bourgoing, Thiers, Bignon and in more recent monographs like that of Vandal, but these are, with the exception of Thiers' voluminous account, little read by the general public. The briefer account which is promised, utilizing, as it will, the results of recent research, will satisfy the demand of the general reader, and will at the same time serve the student by furnishing a guide to the study of a complicated period, the historical literature of which is confusingly abundant.

Unlike most of his countrymen Sorel furnishes in his foot-notes a careful account of the authorities consulted. He has made use of the great works like those of Sybel and Häusser as well of the more special contributions which have been published in such abundance during the past decade or so. The great advantage, however, which Sorel enjoys over his predecessors is the vast quantity of documentary material which has been rendered available within recent years, and which he is the first to exploit upon a large scale for the benefit of the public. The last fifteen or twenty years have opened up to the historical writer a great mass of official correspondence, documents and memoirs hitherto unpublished. The labors of Arneth, Aulard, Schmidt, Vivenot and others as well as the *documents inédits* given by Mortimer Ternaux and in the numerous briefer monographs, make necessary a thorough revision of the traditional conceptions of the price. The *furor de l'inédit*, as it has well been termed, has produced such astonishing results that a bold investigator might well hesitate to attempt to compass the whole vast collection with a view to rewriting

the history of the Revolutionary period. Sorel's reading has in spite of this been of the most cosmopolitan character, and his breadth of interest constitutes one of the great charms of his volumes. An apt passage from Bossuet or Schiller comes as readily to his pen as excerpts from the drier records of diplomacy. His style is brilliant, now and then perhaps a trifle obscure. The English reader, at least, may sometimes look twice without being perfectly sure of the writer's exact meaning. The excellent proportions of the work, the freshness of presentation, the wealth of illustration and above all the confidence inspired by the author's scholarly industry must, however, in spite of any minor defects, give the work a place among the most notable exoteric historical works of our century.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

Chapters on the Principles of International Law. By JOHN WESTLAKE, Q. C., LL. D. Pp. 275. Price, \$2.60 Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894.

As implied by the title this work is not intended as a detailed treatise on International Law; it is a collection of seven essays based upon lectures delivered by Dr. Westlake as Whewell Professor of International Law at Cambridge. The method of the book is neither purely historical nor purely analytical, but a combination of the two. At the outset the analytical method is pursued in order that a clear concept of the nature of International Law may be formed before "the name of law is given to anything discovered in a remote state of society." In chapter one Professor Westlake discusses International Law in relation to law in general. He rejects as "inadequate" the Austinian conception of "positive international morality." Austin conceived of law as predicating a governing sovereign and an obeying subject; in the intercourse between states no such sovereign exists, hence the rules governing international relations fall within the category of morals and not of law. There is no determinate body from which a command may issue. Men, however, distinguish between those rules of morals which they do, and those which they do not, deem themselves justified in obeying. Every society endeavors to express this distinction in certain rules which are acted upon with more or less consistency. A nation does so by its law; international society has *its* rules, which do not differ in kind, but only in degree, because they are less coherent and less positively formulated. "International Law is now not less certain and better obeyed than was the Law of England" before the time of Edward I., when "old local customs, new feudal principles and habits of action, and a good deal